361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the neces-
437 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
196 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
361 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several
621 huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term ~~has therefore~~ a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kirmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
361 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

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[1] The word *mard* is also occasionally used.

618 ● 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol,

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

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[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in. 166 361 621

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. 618

special directions, and there are special features of the 181
organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the 234
two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of 771
the clans of which each division is composed. 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief 793
features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. 825
These animals are divided into those of a sacred character 234
and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different 234
in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol 621
possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes 463
are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other 778
hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I 192
could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

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[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithl*, milking or milked.

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when
the dairyman is an elderly man.

778 At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursulir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol 234
or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* 621
and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either
of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the 463
wursol must be taken either from the members of the other 778
chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the 192
Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges
and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between
Tartharol and Teivaliol.

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

234 621 778 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 778 463 793 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely, *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

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[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and 104
the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another 234
distinction of a more general kind. There are two general 343
names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. 552
The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of
the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and
more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily
called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for
the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual
names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of
Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name
is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali*
were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind
being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present
time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy
which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is
called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy,
originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same
form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra
labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some
of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the
name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain
occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given
are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial 234
antiquity and sanctity.

463
There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen
who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of 621
course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of 778
Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies
which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended
by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of
the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied
by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which
the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where
the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

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[1] This word, in the forms *boa*, *boath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

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343
621
A village dairy is often situated at some little distance from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ulkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a 234
third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which 343
these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the 621●
clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies.

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer 234
room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping- 343
place and in this case usually has two of the couches called
tüün, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on 352
the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitüün* (*meiltüün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitüün*, or low (inferior) bed.

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), [415] used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room.

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually [354] made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*.

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact 234
with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from 415
those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which 234
calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young 343
calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed 417
by the spreading roots of a tree.

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn 234
the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used 312
for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part
of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy 621
purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream.

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar 234
dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable 463
being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar."

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never 618
called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 621

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
463 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
618 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly
limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh*
621 is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must
be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other
division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
irkarthtadrp when milking. When away from his work or
513 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
554 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
558 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time
784 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch
the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches
any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and
becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on
the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when
788 getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes
out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night
and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

called ***martir***; to Nòdrs were given ***nashperthir***; to Pan, 173
pineipir; to Melgars, ***persasir***; these buffaloes originally given 234
being called in general ***nòdrodvaiir***; lit. "buffaloes who 618
rule."

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan 425
have passed into the possession of other clans. This has 431
happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds.

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of 234
the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great 778
difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*.

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of 234
dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The 618
nashperthir of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, 621
but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the 778
martir. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be

234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
618 reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.
621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen
621 from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was 234
not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was 421
acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me 618
as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works
for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in 621
the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62).

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called 173
collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman 234
called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The 618
buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *rsgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeip* at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *kei ursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi.

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or 234
wursol of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from 463
the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 554

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[1] See Chapter XXIII. 618

234 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows
512 down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*,
788 touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights
the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in
618 many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village
621 and the institution to be described in the next chapter—
the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug*=*etud*=chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

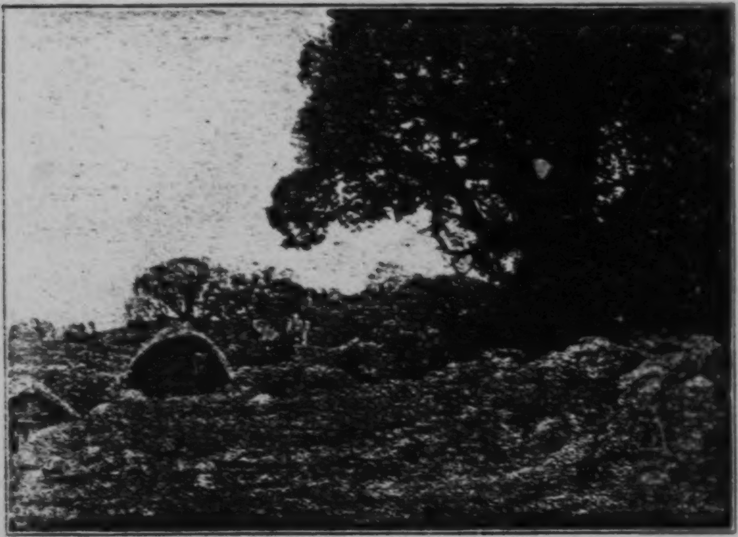

FIG. 24.—THE '*KUGVALI*' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE '*KWOTARS*,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE '*KUSH*.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE '*KUGVALI*' IS THE '*PÜDRSHTIKARS*' (see p. 654).

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* 264
must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds 554
the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must 784
throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his 788
lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe 793
than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter.
The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god
Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things
on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk 192
receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of 234
the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any
other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are
the same as at other village dairies.

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairy- 184
men so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali 234
villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* 621 ●
of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear
to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar [292]
tarvali. The most marked difference which I could discover
is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy
operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate
in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the
same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*,
and there are no differences corresponding to the different
grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception,
the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names
like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The
exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called
kudeipir or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the
wursulir of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a 621
dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 778

234 *palikartmokh*, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which
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778 this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

234 412 415 778 783 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE TI

173 234 ● 621 773 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

[772] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
221 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
234 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
● 621 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are
773 now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so 173
called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho 221
and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not 234
seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could
not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group 621 ●
of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer 773
of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this
place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* 234
at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult 552
buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three
young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars,
Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and
one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and
two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv,
and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*,
and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had
nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that 234
of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its 343
special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called 352
Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or
Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but
my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks
the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly
the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the
warsir. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh.
The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not
234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
● 621 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs.
773 The story runs that Antò created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had 173
the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into 234
disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund,
and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would 621 ●
have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from 773
Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs,
which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place
of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Karṣ *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarẓam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in 234
addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* 793
and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*.
Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their
corresponding dairies, there has never been more than
one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained
to the office of *palol* to the *parsir* and, for the first month, he
attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the
parspoh, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to
the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later,
and from that time to the end of his period of office he works
in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he
continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*.
The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the
vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo.
This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes,
has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three [552]
names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called
Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, 234
but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and 778
dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made
of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

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may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

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Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûztheniz ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

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The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. 173
Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy 234
of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of
those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Taṛzhvà. Its 621
special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to 773
the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling 793
into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the 173
mothers of all the *tiir.* Another account, which seemed to be 234
more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was
instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that 773
one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called
Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the
milking-vessel.

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursàs, situated between 234
Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were 621
at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first
of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used.

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, 177
only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were 234
not being milked.

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony 793
in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the
Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are
about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are
appointed who go to Pursàs. The buffaloes are milked and
the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas.
The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his
appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who
would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the
success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if
there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*.

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold [765]
the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a
Kwòdrdoni person.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of 234
buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The 773
buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands
of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the
dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers.

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking 184
buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but 234
they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part
in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the 554
people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*.

THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti.* One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi.* When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti.* The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti.* There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti.* Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

234* Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
821 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian
motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called ***irskidithbutnol*** or ***irnödrthnol***.

MIGRATIONS OF THE VILLAGE BUFFALOES

[124]
234* My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and
for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

man stays only one *punrs—i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the 234^{x}
day following the migration. 221

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The 796
general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the 234^{x}
year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay 221
about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season,
returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at 233
Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable 621 ●
that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the
ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the 796
legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*.

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no
information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy [778]
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurzülnkars*.
I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*.

234x both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some signific-
373 ance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation
771 of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and
its sources which may at one time have formed a more
782 marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to
788 be the case.

The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is
234x common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the
dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently
782 killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the
788 pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol.* I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could
184 ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village;
788 thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used
in both *kugvali* and *tarvali.* This is not, however, a point
782 on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance
621 to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any 234x
rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a 184
clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in 621
common.

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate 782
than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at 788
different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common.

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tânenmâ;	may it be well or may be blessed;
târmâmâ;	may it be well or may be merciful;
ir kark tânenmâ;	with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;
nâv ârk mâ;	may there be no disease;
kazun ârk mâ;	may there be no destroyer;
nudri ârk mâ;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâvel ârk mâ;	may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);
per kârt pâ mâ:	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;
pusthi kârt pâ mâ;	may be kept from floods;
tût ârk mâ;	may there be no fire;
mâ un mâ;	may rain fall;
maj eu mâ;	may clouds rise;
pul pûv mâ;	may grass flourish;
nîr ûr mâ.	may water spring.

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham	*idith*	*emk*	*tânenmâ.*
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the 782
clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 788

782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234X It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

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782
788 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234x
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782
788
621 The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

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192 [1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer 234ˣ
of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes 184
predominate.

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind 782
containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which 788
occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with 621 ●
the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may 192
refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated.

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh.* I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

THE VILLAGE PRAYER

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the 234ˣ
dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. 192
On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each 788
of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer.

PRAYER OF KUUDR

Atthkûdr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ôners	Kuudr village.
palitûdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tûdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tûdrpalshpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalshpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I 761
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to 621
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village 234
in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October. 796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual 621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions 234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. [793] The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

313 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet 372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood 782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*. 796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

[1] [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptehpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI PRAYER OF KUUDR

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
Moskar and *Manêthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr),
621 *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Thindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

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[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol 192
followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this 782
case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The
following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages 788
in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *King-* 821
ners (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt, Tūli, Sing, Keitas.* In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam, Nòtîrzk îr usht mâ.* The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrochi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk îr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk îr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to
Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the 782
Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, 789
but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 796

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the
buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

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On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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618 796 621 ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

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[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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621

arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Swâmi, Teikirzi, Târziolv, Kârziolv, Kârzu ultâmâ; ir kark ultâmâ; irnörtvuspimi,[1] *ultâmâ.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

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[1] Or *irnörtpuspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikirzi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
● 621 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan
who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at
this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

[576]

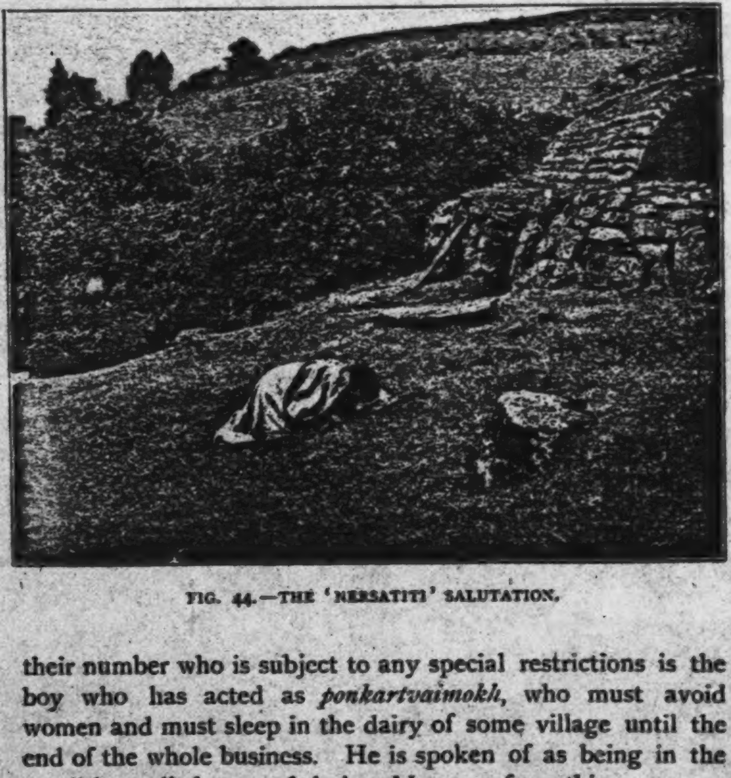

FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 618

796

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikåratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas. [437]

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down,
touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may
be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an
atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*.
618 If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before 843 the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed 585 for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage.

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony 843 is performed which is called *ür patitth kaitütitthpimi*, "village 621 left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *ürvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitütitthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt.

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a [343] special hut, called *puzhars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *puzhars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house.

The distance of the *puzhars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

843 which have a dairy of the conical kind, but it seems that there
is no real difference between these villages and any other
621 *etudmad.* In some cases when the dairy has a high degree of sanctity, the *puzhars* may be at an adjacent village; thus, a pregnant woman of Kindr goes into seclusion at Molkush,

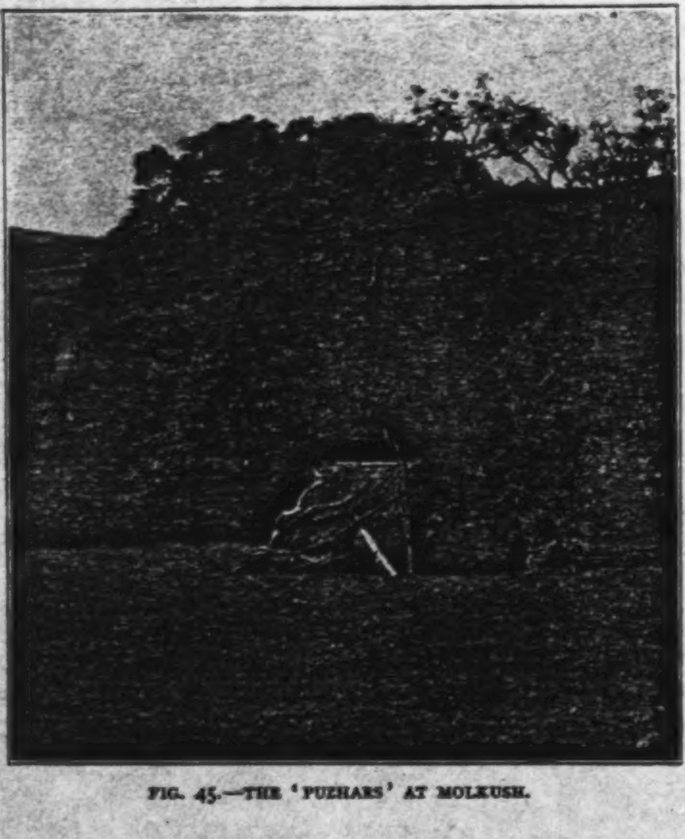

FIG. 45.—THE 'PUZHARS' AT MOLKUSH.

about a quarter of a mile away, and at this village the seclusion-hut (Fig. 45) is about a hundred yards from the house in which the people live.

I may mention here that the objection to the presence of a pregnant woman in one of the more sacred villages may extend to a time when she is not in the seclusion-hut. When I

visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the 843
village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and 621
was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away.

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed 616
by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali 843
woman, and I will begin with a description of the former.

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the 843
puzhars. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali.* He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun.* He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village.

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali.* He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pòl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ûv*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali.*[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

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[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatsnol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthògadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kêdrvtitògadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrtògadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be
784 one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *pohnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; 796
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 621
have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be 618
performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

527 but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day.

777 There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days.

[784] There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days.

527 796 Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity.

527 621 The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other

527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were pro-
● 621 hibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

SACRED NUMBERS

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy
801 ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable *Oñ* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross 778
the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the 784
rank of *perkursol*.

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be 788
crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi 823
is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village 778
is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as
sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have 621
some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a 788
clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue
to be treated with some degree of reverence.

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukkti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village, 621 778 788 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be. When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 621 778 784 788 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages," where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and 562
are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation 621
which could be given was that owing to the short time they 778
are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family
to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were 784
definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a 788
woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and
this suggests that the institution is based on something more
than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind
of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should
live in them.

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute 621
arises between two men they are taken to the front of the 627
dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has
happened, and anything a man says under these conditions 761
will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak 778
the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

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[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

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●621
The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had 582
given. Here again the people appear to have had no 621.
objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community.

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a 582
man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general 601
term, *püliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is
prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the 618
women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *püliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *püliol* of a man :—

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *püliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *püliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *püliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *püliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

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The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

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[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become 618
the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, 621
a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the 361
villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part
of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at
a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes
these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and
in other cases they have been established on account of
grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief
seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in
the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry
season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and 618
privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has
a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see 178
shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual,
and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which
the common bond constituted by membership of the clan
has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the
family. They are in an intermediate condition between the
state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that
in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas 101
have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, 177
Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the 618
five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows
each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also 616
perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could
always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or
a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to
which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of
these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among
themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas
and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, 618
and at the time of my visit there were several men who had
been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those
positions.

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the 421
family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any 618
case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a
whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two 621
villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property,
so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit
both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not
satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were
common property.

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much 177
discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement 421
of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy.
The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of 423
grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were
regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly
upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian
Government. The other view taken of the matter was that
permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the
State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it
was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of
pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a
small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual

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[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, 423
and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, 578
and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one
of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, 627
usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a 425
rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and 361
in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist
of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and 621
the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family.

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house [114
shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this 428]
is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among
the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them 171
I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

177 342 621 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 437 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 278 The other department is medicine. There is no special reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *utkòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed

762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

234 618 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 764 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

● 621 361 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

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[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and 621
runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) 351
is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts,
so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without 234
crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum.

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. 211
Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of 621
a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only
two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show 778
what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*.

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

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the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here.[1] Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

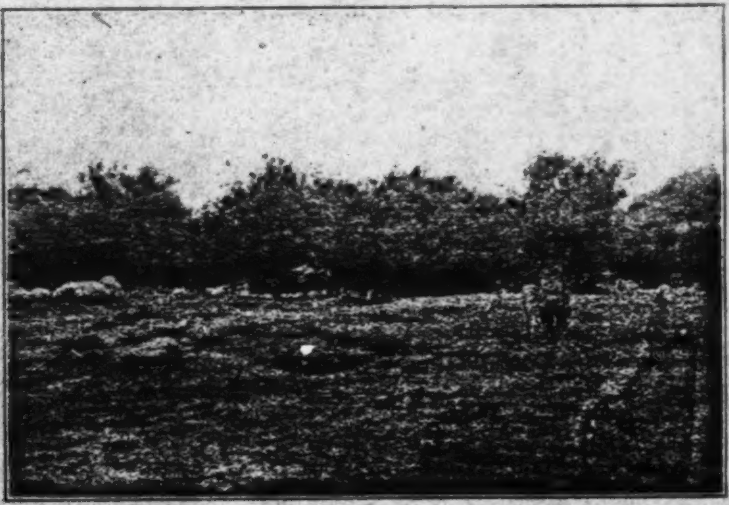

FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEROVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a 234
tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by 621
the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their
ordination ceremonies at Odr. 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tedshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important 234
Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is 621
still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the

234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri
to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of
ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented
in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], 618
Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs.

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best 234
known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of 621
Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves.

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

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[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

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and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kuzhu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Enmon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

618 621 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Panol:—

234 *Pan* (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a *wursuli* and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

618 234 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 234 764 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most characteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, [211] erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were [177] said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to 618 have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is 234 only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

618 234 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *tooh* are said to be derived from him.

618 842 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

● 621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwusht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teudr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones. 621

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kuzhu* or *Kusku*, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

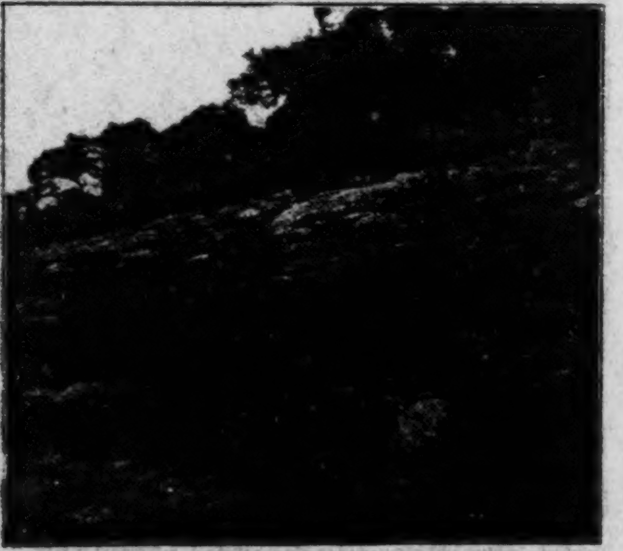

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other. 177 618 621

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English 618
soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how 159
Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at
Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of 177
Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates
and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, 618
having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration 234
which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The
people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has 618
fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

There are two *mani*, called *Eskkiskudr* and *Eikudr*, each [778]
with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *püneipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of 621
these seems to be of any importance.

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu.* The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars.*
Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the
778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion
609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikudri.* This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS.

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of
618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social
organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a
234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the
554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other
clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able 184
to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. 554
Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol
uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives 234
him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this 618
account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the
tarvali of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving 184
the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other
than that of Melgars. 554

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects 618
that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some 618
special relation between the people of Melgars and those of
Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited 621
between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
621 Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48). Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with ~~the ex~~ception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulimund) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
564 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there
578 were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pöti âtham nôtthred? Kûtm it vòrs!*—*i.e.*,

"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? 618
Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied 621
to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of
the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the 554
pursütpimi ceremony.) 578

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pasuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ògadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nërsi nest ògadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ògadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near 621
Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were
so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have 618
remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they
are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may
take place between the two clans. They have only three or
four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

618

● 621

a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,[1] though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarzam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

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[1] For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nödrs *ti*, see p. 114.

618 and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*.
621 From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anömalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pòlm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pòlm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pòlm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pòlm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pòlm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pòlm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pòlm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kòrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pòlm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pòlm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol:—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Òdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad 234
flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is 621
of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307).

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, 778
and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given.

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more 621
than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth

621 to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Miuni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is reverenced by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Ars is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivòrs. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

618 621 The people of Piedr derive their special importance from the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, 618
of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisòdr (64), and 621
Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisòdr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidi in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pòlm*.

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kuudi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavatkudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskòdr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidi is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidi people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolkedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidi people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mòmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroln* and *Pamarkol*.

618

621 A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvaili.* The termination *vaili* of this village and of the male funeral place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *etudmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nòdrodchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nòdrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nòdrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kwotòdrvoh.* It is a *poh* and not a *pali*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *pali* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkkars.* They serve as *irnörtkars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

618 having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the
●621 wall of the huts and close to the *poh* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy, and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'NADRKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'POH' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

Between the *poh* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *muütthkars*, marking the spot where the *mu* is buried.

Teidr is not far from Nòdrs. It has two huts and a dairy. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs takes its name from this village, the *wursol* who gave the name to the stone being a Teidr man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

618 formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was 621 taken to see two stones called *neurzülnkars* at some little distance from the village.

Pòln is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Korateu* and is said to have been thrown by Korateu from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nòtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess Nòtirzi from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Känkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called Kwaradrol, taking their name from the village of Kwaradr. According to some, the Kwaradrol were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the Keadrol and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is Perner (68), and this division has three *pòlm*, two of which are headed by Perner and Pichievan (69), while the third has only three young boys, Karem (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the Kwaradrol died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, 618
so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting
of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the 621
original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan.

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has 578
now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of
a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.[1] 618
There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a 621
different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptthpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidthtotki*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidthtotki* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptthpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr.

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

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[1] This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the
● 621 genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
773 one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the
618 hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
773 *ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people
who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol
554 among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are
not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr*
773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*,
kaltmokh, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtiti* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kultklem*, is near Kanòdrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

● 621 The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.

618 This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
621 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

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[101]

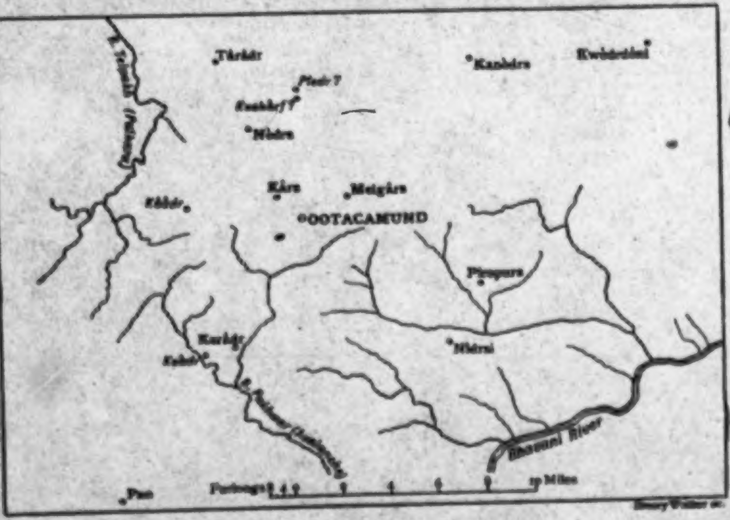

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

616 The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnôdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

[101]

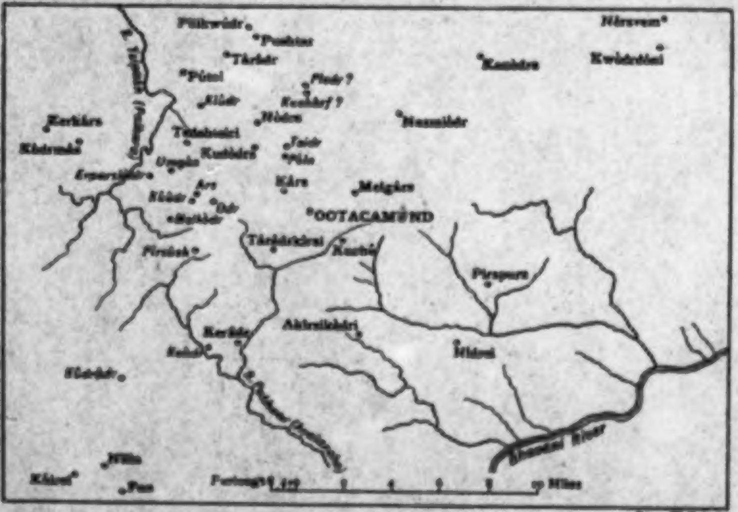

FIG. 74.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
of the community. At the present time the majority of the
791 *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

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621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akirsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pâm		
Ârs	Kuudr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Taradr	Aretalmand	
Âtimad	Taradr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kuudr	Edattalmand	
Inikitj	Pâm	Bettumand	
Isharâdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kuudr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
Kapthòri	Keadr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Keradr		
Karia	Kuudr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kuudr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katikâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodanadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Keâdr	Keadr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
Kebâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirod	Kuudr	Keradamand	
Kerâdr	Keradr	Kannagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral [place.
Kerkârs	Taradr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

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621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Kashker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kiraiz	Melgars		
Kiudr	Kuudr	Kengodumand	*satimad.*
Kiûnh	Piedr	Karimulimand	
Kòdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Keradr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Koshker	Kuudr	Kasubiramand	disused.
Koshtâdi	Nòdrs		
Kûdimad	Taradr	Kulimand	
Kudòdrs	Nòdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kûdrâdr	Keadr	Kudukkadumand	
Kûdrmâs	Taradr	Kudimalmand	*kalolmad.*
Kûdrmâkhum	Nòdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuln	Kuudr		disused.
Kûirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kûlikâl	Kwòdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkòdri	Nòdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kûlmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûlthpuli	Nòdrs		female funeral place.
Kûrkalmut	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nòdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		*etudmad.*
Kûûdi	Piedr	Anaikundukalimand	(? Köûdi).
Kûûdr	Kuudr	Kandakodumand	*etudmad.*
Kushû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kushû	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs : disused.
Kwarâdr	Keadr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pâm	Maranallimand	female funeral place.
Kwirg	Kuudr	Korangumand	
Kwòdrdòni	Kwòdrdoni	Kodadonnemand	*etudmad.*
Madòni	Pedrkars		
Madsû	Pâm	Manjathalmand	
Madsû	Kuudr		disused.
Marsners	Pâm		
Meigâro	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*etudmad.*
Melkòdr	Kuudr	Mekkodumand	
Melfir	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwadrvalth	Kanòdrs		
Meroln	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mirsòti	Melgars		male funeral place.
Mitûni	Kuudr	Merlimand	
Molkrush	Kuudr	Malkodmand	
Mômandòthi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Mulòrs	Nòdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthûkòr	Kuudr		disused.
Nasmiòdr	Kars	(Aganadmand)	
Nâtâs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrdol	Taradr	Kilmand	in ruins.

	Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
103				
	Nelkush	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
361	Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
	Nerngòdr	Kuudr		disused.
621	Nersvem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenumandi	in ruins.
	Nersvem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
	Neshkwòdr	Keadr	Nedikodumand	
	Nikirsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
	Nirkâtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
	Nirsht	Piedr		
	Nirsk	Päm		female funeral place.
	Nòdrmad	Taradr	Nadumand	
	Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
	Nongârsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
	Nüln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
	Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
	Òrs	Taradr	Alaikudalmand	
	Padegâr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
	Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
	Paliners	Kuudr		
	Päm	Päm		in ruins.
	Pamârkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
	Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
	Panmuti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
	Parzkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
	Pathâdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
	Pathmârs	Pan	Bettumand	
	Pôdrkârs	Pedrkars	[illegible]akalmand	*etudmad.*
	Pegârsi	Keradr	Attumand	in ruins.
	Peivòrs	Kuudr		
	Pekhòdr	Keadr	Osamand	"new mand."
	Peletkwür	Kars	Attakoraimand	
	Pêrg	Pan	Yeragimand	*kalolmad.*
	Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
	Peshkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
	Pevar	Taradr	Pevarmand	in ruins.
	Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
	Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
	Piitth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
	Pineiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
	Pirshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
	Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
	Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
	Pòdzkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûzhkwar.
	Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
	Pömad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
	Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
	Pòsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

103

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621 ●

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pülkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûln	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Püvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kuudr	Tamogamand	
Târâdr	Taradr	Tarnardmand	*etudmad*, and male funeral place.
Târâdrkirsi	Kars	Kavaikkadumand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebmârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Teḍshteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad.*
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tim	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabûdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandlmand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tülchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Ushâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost 221 entirely subsist.

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the 231 organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly de- 000 veloped as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or 621 Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground sur- 361 rounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house 221 —Ársh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land. 132

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under 000

CHAP. VI.

the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

000 It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the
768 entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their
751 number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar
000 circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has
221 just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

361 From what is here written it will be understood why the
● 621 Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its
342 surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is
342 depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

592 Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

342 The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants											Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
							Male					Female							
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total		
Diljävenu .	Karikall .	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3^1	4	10	1^2	2	—	6^3	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi .	Kakhodi .	2	2	1	1	4	—	3^1	—	2	5	—	2^2	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married; hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro .	Karrathro .	2	1	1	—	2	—	4^1	—	3	7	—	4^2	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Koana-kour	Koana-korrdi .	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3^1	3	10	—	4^2	1^3	1^4	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Ehgodu .	Ehgodu .	4	3	1	1	5	1^1	4^2	4^3	3	12	1^4	4^5	—	6^6	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

																		childbed. 6. One of 14 years, one of 12 years. One infant with a disease of the skin.—The four married men, and four single adults, are six brothers and two nephews.	with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.
Bingkâdu .	Bingkâdu .	4	2	1	—	3	2^1	4	2^2	6	14	2^3	4	—	4^4	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Kurâkh .	Kandal .	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mâsamodd .	Mardial .	3	3	1	2	5	1^1	6^2	1^3	3	12	2^4	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Keshkir .	Kakkeri .	3	2	1	—	3	—	6^1	1^2	5	12	—	6^3	—	3	9	21	1. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 15. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kirzho .	Kundetro .	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1^1	2	5	1^2	2	—	1^3	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Meikarsk .	Manchakall .	4	3	1	—	4	1^1	4	1^2	1	6	—	3^3	—	1^4	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

CHAP. X.

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CHAP. X.

162 342 511 592 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[1] which affords particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

161 ²/162 127 I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

1,162 ● 621 6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

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[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1[See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time,
has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider
them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, 161
we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 162
males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in 621
the prime of life.

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should 161
be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than
doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been
lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the
causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every
desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to
have been deprived of the interesting study.

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist 162
of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect,
cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I 732
ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2
cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar,
a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in
Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend 165
to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon 147
drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and
blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a
skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general
health.

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. 757
One woman was in quarantine after child-birth.
And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire
having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not 164
uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement,
as applied to the present day. None came before me marked
by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the

[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

CHAP. XVI. A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi,
343 in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house
234 for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two
342 houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which
surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth Kudar
Mâr Markush
Puzhash.

361 And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in
621 Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and
even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corre-
221 sponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain
seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

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[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII., on the Bell-gods.

CHAP. XVII.

234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

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[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led
234 to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small
843 dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and
342 blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud
778 Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and
● 621 why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are 234 supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see 778 the êtud Mands are *shrines;* the shrines of a race which burns 621 its dead.

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* Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] 778 And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe 627 possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tiriêri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

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—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*
Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being
183 situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately
621 related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the
423 village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are
234 the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of
851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in
595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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428 Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

621 They live in villages called *mands*[*] (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
335 " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
" is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
354 " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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[*] Derived from *Manê*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manê*.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together,
tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in
the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one
dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
"the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue*
"*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving
clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators
have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find
the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally
divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the
duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the
authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances
by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has
not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to
eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having
apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful.
It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kūri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kūri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pútkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the " exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in " some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without " a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is " at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the " botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed " off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted " to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pálâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peikis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnāt mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikârpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peiki and Pekkan Pâlikârpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but
346 larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
● 621 *Etudmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikârpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

778 (1.) Called *Mâsboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the left of the Segūr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh;** at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholûr.

771 (3.) Called *Törzhea;* at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kûndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mullerzhea.*

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedes* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands.* I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one. 103

621

Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

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Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasâri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mirzhan. Ertâtu. Kirzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf 2. Karzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu. Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tiltibbéa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

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* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16'	
Inside diameter, north to south	9'	2"
Do. do. east to west	8'	3"
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34'	
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1'	7"
Breadth do. do.	1'	2"
From eaves to ground	3'	5"

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

Kuttan Muimands.

	Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
103			
621	1. Kodanâd	Músdshyâld	Kérshandk.
776	2. Fangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
	3. Âr	Tirsh pâlsh (in ruins).	
778	4. Nirsh	Ponarshaldf.	
	5. Kanorsh	Mudershva.	

Todi Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârshtith	Kátětivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângilar. Kânj.
4. Térshdâr	Korshaldf.	
5. Kérköârsh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramârsh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr[*]	Terpivor Těkva Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúërsh	Kânaldf.	
11. Pârshtâr	Karshaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun 788 (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),[†] and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâltchi*, but no one except the 778 *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be 782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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[*] Bad. Thrsât. *Pl.* viii.

[†] Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pûjâri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pûjâri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshâl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tür* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tür*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *sevale*, *mathe*, or *kena* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 796 621 173

The institution is *Mâmûl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 844

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purzhârsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Peikhan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*boa*), the *Purzhârsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pâlthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 533 551

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* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mâmûl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable,
differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people
that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed
boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three
feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about
eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made
[137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong
plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume
of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but
there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at
the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an
opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and
351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the
dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open
grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the
●621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together
on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four
only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.
343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and
this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction
it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a
462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any
account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom
or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs
of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and
221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for
242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning
of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of
setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth;
another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of
which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it
on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings,
621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times
in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various
munds suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two
or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing
to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

22/ I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
062/ found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and
even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of
the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without
any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through
the aperture which does duty as a door.

16/ The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably
under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an
estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people;
but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now
exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some
past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and
original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nilgiris,
563 a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
65/ by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal
vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or
district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply
tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they
live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[72/] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness
of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war,
make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the
territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the
other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial
possession and residence.

19/ Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult
of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither
spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they
are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined
that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or
exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge
of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired
the means of communication, having just so much knowledge
of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise
words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited
similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In
all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue
either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a 564
Tarthāl woman visits at a Tērthāl mand, she is permitted 574
to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter- [252]
milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Tērthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Tērthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Tērthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers,
"the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the 564
division of the community into two perfectly distinct 621
groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of [793]
function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and 564
Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda 614
people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes 881
through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra [123]
bungalow.

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by 595
the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (po/j-ful-fæ ɪst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fartjt), as well as at such
unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration
[648] under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a
Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not
dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place,
dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal
sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪ/, i.e., wife's father or brother,
wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's
daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides
members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪ/, only those members of her father's patrilineal
sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning
still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is
related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship
within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person,
or by pojoɪ/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is
prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress"
relations, and for his sons.

535 Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
614 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
616 may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite
764 moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person
there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of
765 a member of the uŋkitj, nirj, and purŋoɪr sibs of the toɪrθas moiety, since the munds of
[837] these sibs are far from any munds of the töũfi/j moiety. In this case members of the same
moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

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[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimise the child (pus-ɐɭt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɐt-ɵnɖ-mod) as opposed to other munds (max-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-21, 1938), pp. 113-19.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 648 491 137 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

---

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat
a = hut
b = best
d = do
dh = Greek delta
e = met
ei = date

ee = meet
f = fun
g = gone
gh = Greek gamma
ng = ring
h = aspirate
i = hit

ai = bite
j = French
dj = job
sh = she
tch = chap
k = kit
kh = Greek chi

l = lot
m = me
n = no
o = hot
ö = word
oi = hoy
p = pot
r = rot

s = soon
t = top
th = Greek theta
u = blue
ù = cook
oo = moon
ü = French

v = vat
w = won
y = yoke
z = zero
è = simply tonic

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *putkuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103	No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162	1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
	2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
●621	3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
	4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
	5	Mign	5	4	1	10
	6	Poln	5	5	1	11
	7	Tör	3	4	1	8
	8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
	9	Or	5	4	0	9
	10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
	11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
	12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
	13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
	14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
	15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
	16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
	17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
	18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
	19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
	20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

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[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

103
162
621

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low 161 figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided [125] to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic 101 servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, 648 and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with [121] the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are 562
supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never 784
came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed
calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to
approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that
they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed
to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a
ti-mad called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, [616]
not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [621]

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges 616
connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the 793
tarvalikartmokh has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all
women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be 837
Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety,
he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the
Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays,
and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays
only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is [834]
priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married.
The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he
wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within
the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers [114]
denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and
Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see
Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide 562
was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to [847]
which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a
patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they
treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property.
This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females
give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns
to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with 591
her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal
dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his
or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same 614
time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless 618
to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively 428
through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin 614

616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the 837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a [621] Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the [431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in [588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and [113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very [431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

595 [621] [592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] [587] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do,
etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
614 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the
principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the
Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose
629 characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an
altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of
four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging
to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass
expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, *the pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field
which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

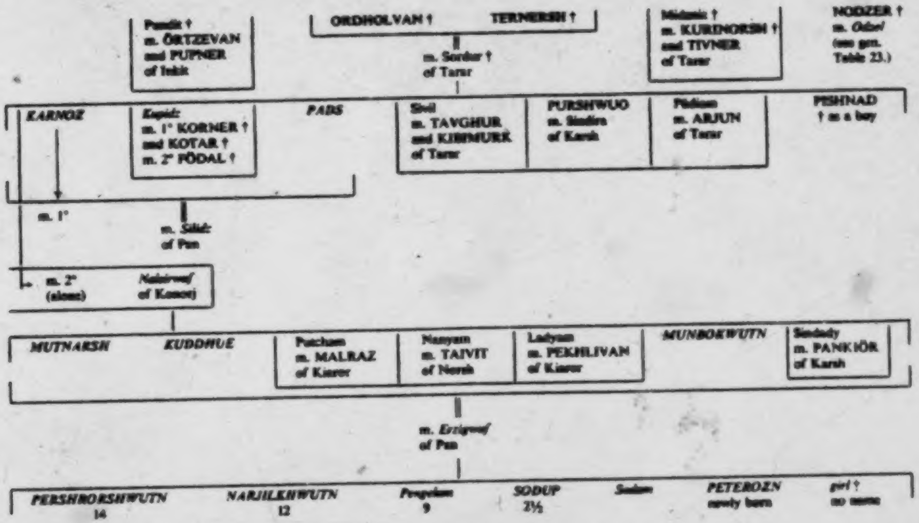
Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

[facing p. 276]

TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.

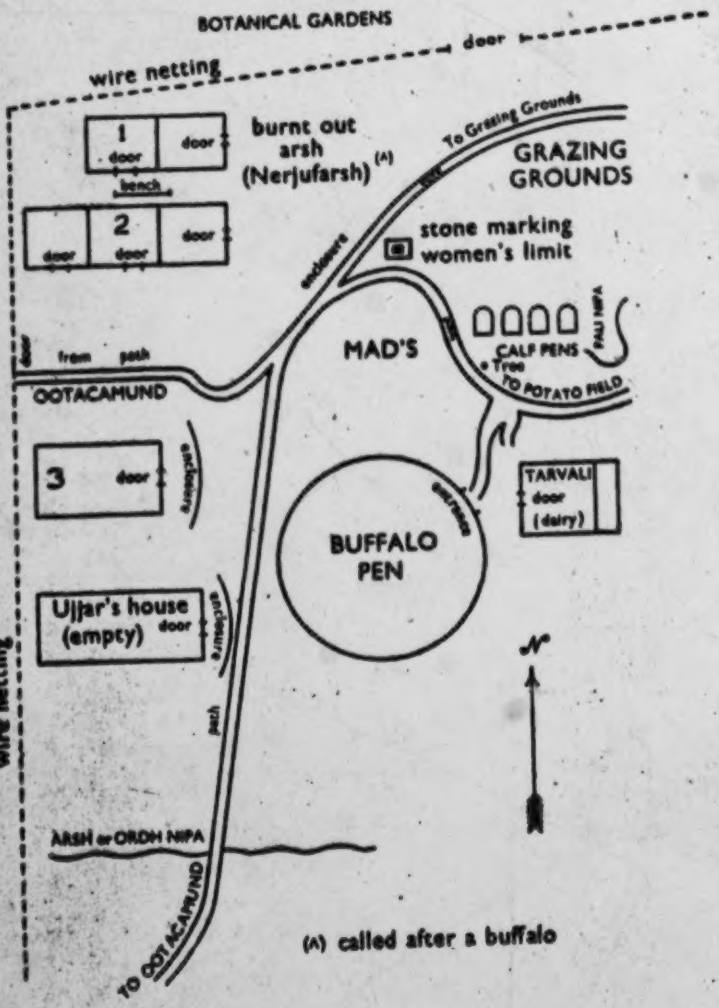

Pundir †
m. ÖRTZEVAN
and PUPNER
of Inkit
ORDHOLVAN †
TERNERSH †
m. Sordur †
of Tarar
Midamis †
m. KURENORSH †
and TIVNER
of Tarar
NODZER †
m. *Odzel*
(see gen.
Table 23.)
KARNOZ
Kupid:
m. 1° KORNER †
and KOTAR †
m. 2° PÖDAL †
PADS
Sivil
m. TAVGHUR
and KIBIMURK
of Tarar
PURSHWUO
m. Sindira
of Karsh
Pädiam
m. ARJUN
of Tarar
PISHNAD
† as a boy
m. 1°
m. *Silid:*
of Pan
m. 2°
(alone)
Nalsirwaf
of Kanorj
MUTNARSH
KUDDHUE
Putcham
m. MALRAZ
of Kiaror
Nanyam
m. TAIVIT
of Norsh
Ladyam
m. PEKHLIVAN
of Kiaror
MUNBOKWUTN
Sindady
m. PANKIÖR
of Karsh
m. *Erzigwaf*
of Pan
PERSHRORSHWUTN
14
NARJILKHWUTN
12
Peogelam
9
SODUP
2½
Sodam
PETEROZN
newly born
girl †
no name

Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

601
621
614

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60


BOTANICAL GARDENS
door
wire netting
1
door
door
bench
burnt out arsh (Nerjufarsh) (A)
2
door
door
door
To Grazing Grounds
GRAZING GROUNDS
enclosure
stone marking women's limit
MAD'S
CALF PENS
PALI NIPA
Tree
TO POTATO FIELD
door
from path
OOTACAMUND
3
door
enclosure
TARVALI
door
(dairy)
entrance
BUFFALO PEN
Ujjar's house (empty)
door
enclosure
wire netting
path
N
ARSH or ORDH NIPA
TO OOTACAMUND

(A) called after a buffalo

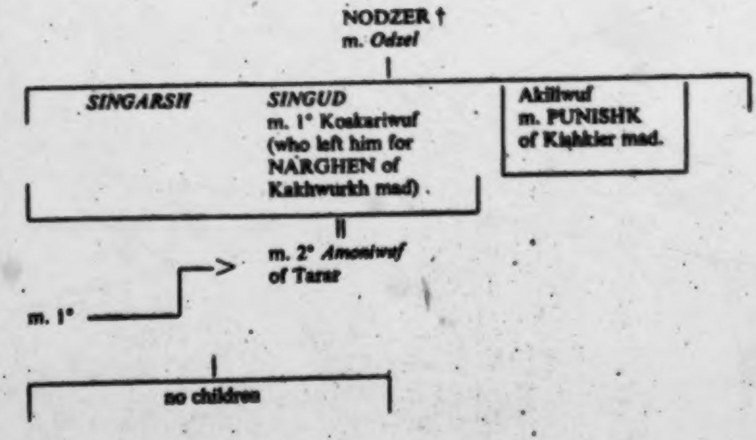
Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad.*

361
417
487
234
312
621 ●
342

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

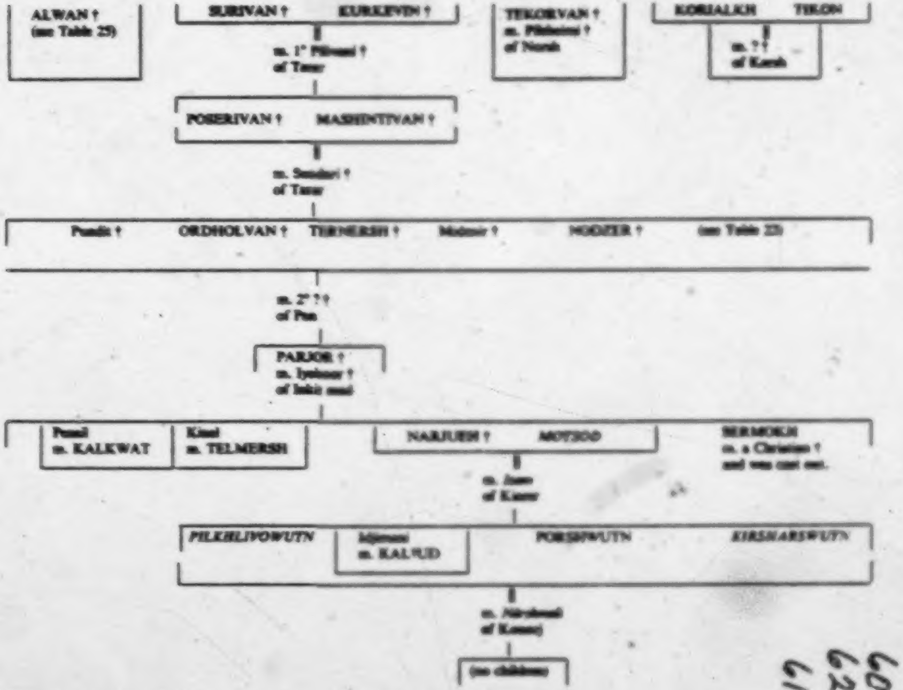
601
● 621
614

TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.


NODZER †
m. *Odzel*
SINGARSH
SINGUD
m. 1° Koskariwuf (who left him for NARGHEN of Kakhwurkh mad).
Akiliwuf
m. PUNISHK
of Kiahkier mad.
m. 2° *Amoniwuf*
of Tarar
m. 1°
no children

Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.


ALWAN † (see Table 25)
SURIVAN †
KURKEVIN †
m. 1° Pilvani † of Taxar
TEKORVAN † m. Pilsheinsi † of Norsh
KORIALKH
TIKON
m. ? † of Karsh
POSERIVAN †
MASHINTIVAN †
m. Sendari † of Taxar
Pundit †
ORDHOLVAN †
TIRNERSH †
Molzoir †
NODZER †
(see Table 23)
m. 2° ? † of Pan
PARJOR † m. Iyeinoor † of Inkit mud
Pensil m. KALKWAT
Kinol m. TELMERSH
NARJUEH †
MOTSOO
SERMOKH m. a Christian † and was cast out.
m. Juwe of Kanr
PILKHLIVOWUTN
Idjimani m. KALVUD
PORSHWUTN
KIRSHARSWUTN
m. Nirsheudi of Kanar)
(no children)

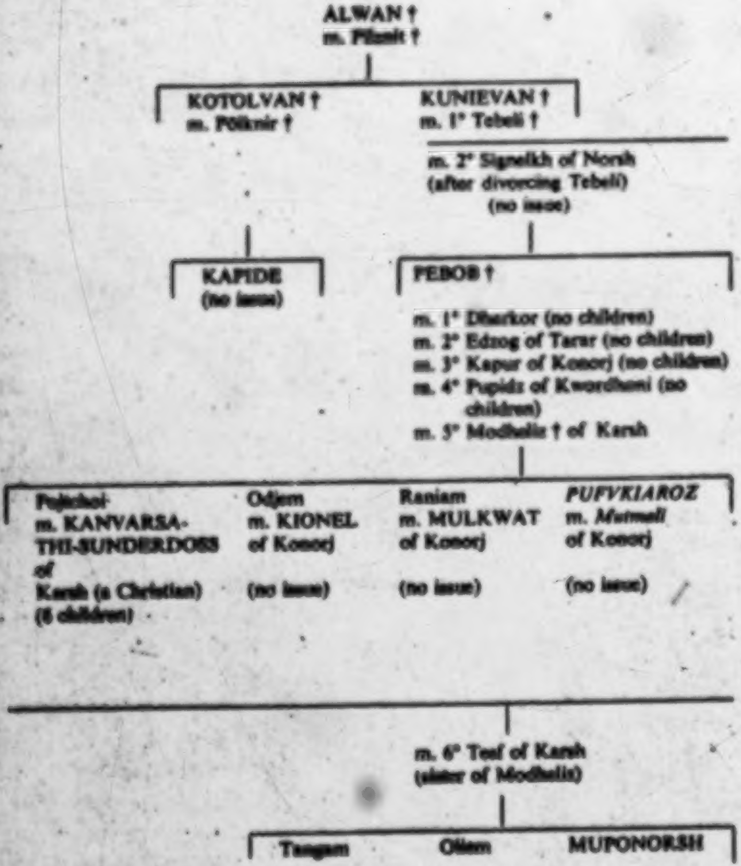
Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

[facing p. 278]

13:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW60 Toda AW60

TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

601
621
614


ALWAN †
m. Pilznit †
KOTOLVAN †
m. Pölknir †
KUNIEVAN †
m. 1° Tebeli †
m. 2° Signelkh of Norsh
(after divorcing Tebeli)
(no issue)
KAPIDE
(no issue)
PEBOB †
m. 1° Dharkor (no children)
m. 2° Edzog of Tarar (no children)
m. 3° Kapur of Konorj (no children)
m. 4° Pupidz of Kwordhoni (no children)
m. 5° Modhelis † of Karsh
Pajtchoi-
m. KANVARSA-
THI-SUNDERDOSS
of
Karsh (a Christian)
(8 children)
Odjem
m. KIONEL
of Konorj
(no issue)
Raniam
m. MULKWAT
of Konorj
(no issue)
PUFVKIAROZ
m. Mutmali
of Konorj
(no issue)
m. 6° Teaf of Karsh
(sister of Modhelis)
Tangam
Oliem
MUPONORSH

Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
[735] whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*;
[123] but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Sillidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalzirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, 159
thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is 621
twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife.

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too [464]
is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

(8) KUDOSHUR: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than [732]
Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly [793]
always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after.

(9) MUNBOKWUTH: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. [595]
When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay.

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is [842]
one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so

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159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elaborated.
621 She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety,
the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially
of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually
Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by
Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation
had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in
the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another
woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not
been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad*
Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom,
[587] she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who
paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She
had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding.
He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her
present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again
expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam,
six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh
went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he
for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in
olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case,
however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all
right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh
had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex.
They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born
when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage.
How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf
159 had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the custom
with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always surrounded
[837] by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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(11) Pershrörshwutn, abbreviated to Pershrörsh: The eldest boy 159
of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and 621
has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is notice- 233
ably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman.

(12) Narjilkhwutn, abbreviated to Narjilkh: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friend- 159
ly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of 621
Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing
and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like [123]
myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris.

(14) Sodup: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exception-
ally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He [855]
is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop.

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) Peterozn: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = [123]
Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving [551]
ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived

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159
621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long
and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's
buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative.
[276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being re-
served for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and
often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on
his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although
this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-
[464] shaven except for a short moustache. He is a forest guard of the Madras
Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from
[291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda
putkuli and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them
out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She
is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz,
[837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of
the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been ac-
cepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either
in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, hand-
some, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic
that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at
the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies
[233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate
to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll
about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early
[464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not
often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems
just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has
a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding mous-
tache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of 159
the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is [832]
quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to [837]
search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them.

(26) PUFVKIAROZ: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless [847]
mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. [797]
Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also [464]
works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband [832]
many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns [837]
after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again.

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2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 342 ● 621 [104] From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 592 [793] Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 464 511 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

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511 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).
2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).
3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).
4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

[562] [583]

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
"patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can